/269/

131 361 [648] [1999] Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city, the second today is made up of three groups of native villages: those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

101 132 648 563 361 241 137 231 177 [223] 621 627 162 [221]

Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments. Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks, presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught. In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most part by several families. The total population, impossible to evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

/275/

Tugare Phratry:

13. Ārórę ĕębege^{ω}ŏ
14. Ārórę ĕębege^{ω}ŏ
15. Ęwâguddu ĕereŏ kurigeŏ ĕębege^{ω}ŏ
16. Ęwâguddu bo'pokęje^{ω}ŏ ĕębege^{ω}ŏ
17. Ęwâguddu baiaddada^{a} eten'manaãge
18. Ęwâguddu kujagoreŏ etu'ieemage ĕâbŏge^{ω}ŏ (ĕâbŏge^{ω}ŏ half)
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Ārórę ĕâbŏge^{ω}ŏ baiaddada^{a} (1)

[128]

1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Ārórę ĕâbŏge^{ω}ŏ
22. Apibore kujagoreŏ
23. Apibore ĕoreŏ
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe ĕoreŏ
26. Paiwe kujagoreŏ

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Ārórę clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ęwâguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

177 178 433 It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

/275 cont./

177 178 511 [114]

(of which von den Steinen's study, more than 50 years old, still offers an extraordinarily faithful description) if one did not take into account the fact that this culture, in itself highly superior to that of the Brazilian caboclo /"copper-colored"/ has been raised still more above the latter level by the gifts of the Service de Protection. A fisherman on the Río Vermelho, in 1936, had only one means of obtaining an axe for himself: it was to try to get one from the Indians. The essential [122] [249] reason which permitted us to make up a small group to make the trip to Kejara, in a period when navigation in a canoe is particularly difficult, is that our men knew that the Indians in this village—where they had never been—had cultivated tobacco, and they were hoping to bring back some young plants. [648] Their hope was realized: the 300 tobacco plants given by the natives to our canoeiros marked the beginning of tobacco cultivation by the Brazilian population of the upper São Lourenço. These extraordinary conditions explain why the material culture of the Bororo, incomparably superior to that of the immediate environment, should have been almost exactly preserved.

177 178 433 [262] economic life. The present-day diet /276/ of the Bororo is more vegetable than meat. This is explained by the growing necessity to have recourse to agriculture in view of the increasing scarcity

/276 cont./

177 178 433 462 of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection. As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their own culture. 511 Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obligations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. 241 622 It is the native chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden products and live on the charity of their comrades. 737 It is the same for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. 587 An old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest 463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high number 595 of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of bigamy), 412 or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. P. 117--Analyst]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

a narrow opening and either a pointed or a spherical bottom. Cooking pots are hemispherical. The wide and shallow dishes now seen, as well as cups with handles, are all innovations due to White influence (figs. 51, *c–h*; 52, *b*, *d*).

Weapons.—Bows and arrows, the principal weapons, vary considerably according to use and represent the acme of *Bororo* craftsmanship. The bow, averaging 6 feet 3 inches (1.9 m.) in length, may exceed 6 feet 6 inches (2 m.), is pointed at the ends, and decorated with feathers; the string is of palm fiber. Arrows, which were from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) in length, have a cane or palm-wood shaft; the heads are of bamboo or bone, and sometimes bear barbs (fig. 53, *a–e*).

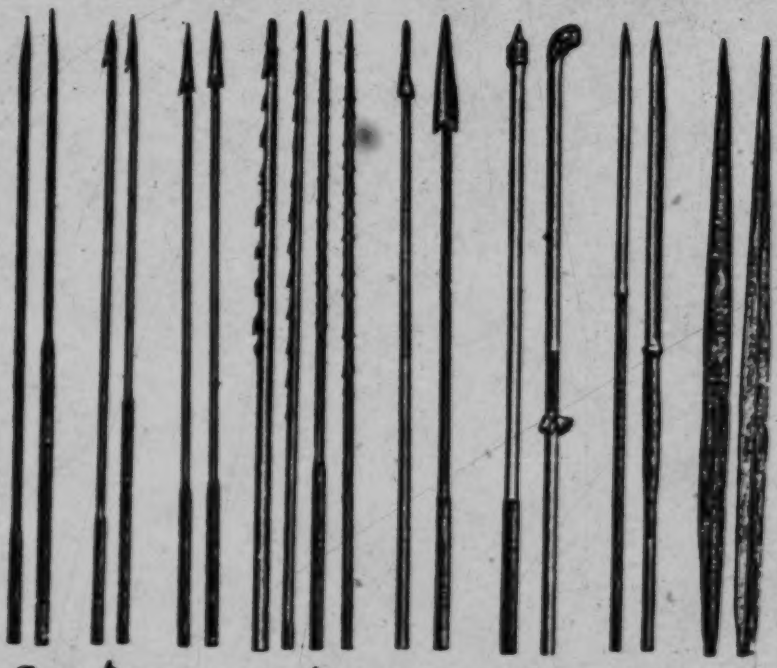

FIGURE 53.—*Bororo* arrow points. *a*, Sharpened rod foreshafts; *b*, rod foreshafts with bone barb attached; *c*, foreshafts with socketed bone point; *d*, foreshafts with lateral carved barbs; *e*, carved wooden points; *f*, foreshafts with knobbed tips for birds; *g*, war arrows with bamboo heads; *h*, large bamboo blades (½ natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

Common hunting arrows have a wooden foreshaft set in a cane shaft, the head (of tapir or monkey bone) being attached to the foreshaft. Arrows used for hunting jaguars have a shaft of seriba-palm wood which rests in a groove of the flat, 2-foot (0.6 m.) long bamboo point

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

The moieties have reciprocal

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers.

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question.

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents.

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section.

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names.

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic.

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud.

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo-

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[477] [847] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
301 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
506 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
428 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

576 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
224 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
425 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
224 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed
[778] to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
524 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on
[826] their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching stick—lest their hair turn white.

[Bororo da Campanha]

361

space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleeping either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no industry whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments.

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language being almost forgotten even by the older people.

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompaniment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Several times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

INTRODUCTION

131 The Bororo live in the western part of Mato Grosso,
178 Brazil. The area they inhabit was formerly much larger, extending on the east across the Bolivian border, on the north
[161] to Cuiabá, and on the south to Coxim. Today there are only about five hundred Bororo, most of whom live in two areas, one on the upper part of the São Lourenço river, and the
[65] [79] other to the south of the Rio das Mortes. The first is entrusted to the Indian Protection Service, the second to the
[177] Salesian missionaries. The territory of the Bororo is becoming smaller and smaller because their lands have been taken by cattle ranchers.

241 The Bororo are fishermen, hunters, and gatherers, and
[22] they also cultivate small fields of corn, manioc, and rice. However, they are not fond of farming and they put relatively little work into their plantations. They cut and burn trees and brush, they sow, and when the crop is ready they harvest; weeding is practically nonexistent.

361 The villages are circular, with the men's house and the ceremonial plaza in the middle and the women's houses around
[513] [512] them. Unmarried men and initiated boys sleep in the men's house. Married men sleep and eat in their wives' houses, but they too spend most of the day in the men's house making tools and ornaments or just chatting.

101 Only an old knowledgeable Bororo chief and his wife are still living there, and we moved there to work with them.

114 The village of Pobojari was built in the traditional circular shape, with the men's house in the center and nine [162] houses around it. In one year of residence there we counted a total of 99 people in the village (of whom 13 were children) [163] with roughly 50 people there at any one time. Eight people [165] died, and there was one birth. The majority of the adult [733] population were alcoholics and suffered from various kinds [164] of respiratory diseases. We were able to gather considerable data watching funeral ceremonies, but after the first few deaths these ceremonies became an obstacle to our work because our informants were involved so much of the time performing ceremonial duties. As a result the situation in the village was quite depressing and the working conditions were at times difficult. The days were often spent waiting for an inform- 119 ant to sober up. The situation sharply contrasted with re- 178 ports of previous researchers which depicted the Bororo as a happy and easygoing people always ready to laugh. But the [224] economic conditions had changed. Game was practically non- [226] existent, and great time and effort were required to catch [167] fish in waters that had become muddy as a result of agricultural changes introduced by the Brazilian settlers.

114 The land surrounding our village had already been allot- 167 ted to Brazilian farmers, and only our presence there kept 177 the settlers from forcing the Bororo to move away. "Americans" are considered powerful people, and besides everybody

114 knew that soon we would have to leave. The Bororo begged for
167 food on the surrounding farms, and when drunk they would talk
177 about the land that had been stolen from them. Everyone was
[121] afraid that when he died there would not be enough Bororo
114 left to properly carry out the funeral ceremonies. In our year of residence there only three times did we hear loud laughter resounding through the village; we still remember it.

121 I did not go among the Bororo for the purpose of studying their kinship system and social organization. In my grant proposal to the National Science Foundation, I wrote that I intended to study Bororo mythology and religious ideas. The extensive work done by the Salesian missionaries and Lévi-Strauss seemed to justify my belief that the Bororo social structure had been well researched and did not need yet another interpretation. However, I did want to make a semantic analysis of their kinship system. Being Lounsbury's student, I wanted to meet Lévi-Strauss' challenge,

> The fact that his [Lounsbury's] analytical procedure could have resulted in a thorough reinterpretation of a system, such as that of the Iroquois, we believed we knew so well, should contribute new insights that may help us to understand similarly difficult systems from other parts of the world. I instance that of the South American Bororo which raises problems of a similar nature. (Levi-Strauss 1965:13-14)

I thought that this challenge could be met somehow in my leisure time while I concentrated on learning the language and recording and analyzing Bororo myths.

121 Things went differently, however. I did start my field
114 work by recording myths and observing ceremonies, but soon I

128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially recognized union of man and women.

844 585 We may begin by noting some common features in the Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these may be very important events in the life of one individual or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much excitement going on in the families involved, but these two changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new [782] [533] born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Comparative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside [533] [772] [177] of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and marriage are not religious ceremonies—no spirits are invoked, no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz., [55] [773] naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is not considered a member of the society until it gets its name, and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance arrangement which was established in mythical time by other cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods, rather than by the exchange of women and men.

Chapter XII

STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Changes of Roles

178 613 The structure of the Bororo society, as presented here, allows the Bororo great potential for adjustment. Increase in population and consequent clustering of the members of the same lineage within a single village can motivate the less important lineage brothers to seek their fortune in other places where they will be more appreciated and will have the chance to exercise their lineage prerogatives in ceremonies. [362] [591] Also, if a house becomes too crowded and a particular lineage sister wants to live in her own house, she can persuade her husband to build her a new house. In this way a couple can become more independent, but there is always the risk that she and her children will in time be classified as younger brothers of her particular lineage, and her personal names [36] will become lineage names. In summary, there are three important consequences of an expanding population: a. founding of new villages; b. more equal dispersal of population among villages; c. establishment of new and less-important lineages.

177 178 361 613 With the decrease in population that has been going on from the time the Bororo came in contact with civilization, the process is reversed: a. old villages are abandoned be-

177 cause the normal social and ceremonial life cannot be main-
178 tained; b. women who belong to the same lineage but are not
613 able to trace their relationship genealogically unite under
[361] the same roof; c. when the more important lineages die out,
the less important ones take their places and names, basing
their claims on the fundamental equivalence of brothers.
[551] When a tribe is prospering, personal names are taken as lin-
eage names and the number of lineages grows. When a tribe is
shrinking, these names are taken to be just different names
for the same lineage and the number of lineages gets smaller.
613 However, it takes time for this new adjustment to take place;
626 as long as their contemporaries are alive, the lesser lin-
178 eages that assumed the names of their older brothers are
whispered to be impostors. Officially they are recognized
as what they claim to be, but behind their backs their "true"
origin is told. In Pobojari, of the 26 important lineages
mentioned on page 121, members of only seven lineages were
recognized as true descendants of great heroes; members of
five others were considered justified in their claims be-
cause their names were interpreted as just different names
of important heroes; nobody claimed membership for five lin-
eages; and the claimants to membership in nine lineages were
considered impostors.

Let us consider a few examples. X claims to be Ki Bakororo, but he is "really" Toro Baru. He lived in the vil-
lage of Aijeri before coming to Pobojari. There were many
Kiye in Aijeri, but all of them were sons of Echerae, i.e.,

/115 cont./

162 Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is administered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios.

657 Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
131 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south
[162] latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500 inhabitants in 1933.

621 Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
162 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude
[131] and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[103] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru: underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
[464] papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/,
[13] and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations. Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

177 The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
[184] Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri, although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were previously in these missions.

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas
164 in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oauassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

/121 cont./

842 757 avoid conception and pregnancy by means of some potions and tisanes which they obtain from roots, /122/ leaves, and bark of plants -- and they are familiar with a great variety of them, to which they attribute efficacy for the desired purpose. The woman and the man take them, not only once, but many times. The action itself of these remedies is very relative and problematical; it seems that many draw their value from superstition, as I had the chance to verify. The effectiveness of some of the potions that are called Jorubo bó et ore bocua-re-u, however, cannot be denied. To judge by appearances, the substances that they use most to avoid conception are in general very astringent, their active element thus probably being tannin."

847 The Bororo also told me that they used different abortive methods. According to Colbacchini (o.c., p. 59), "they induce abortion by physical means -- hard work, carrying enormous loads, blows on the abdomen, or an exaggerated compression of it ... or also taking some foods or beverages that might produce such an effect."

Also Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503) mentions that abortion by internal means is frequent. As far as we could see, one cannot draw from the limitation in deliveries among the Bororo any conclusions with respect to the position of the sexes.

163 In this matter it is interesting to examine the number of births, as I was able to verify with the help of the parish books on the eighteenth day of January of 1934 in the mission of Meruri. Of course it is to be noted in this respect that the influence of the Salesians produced basic changes.

177 197

In the following list, the numbers that follow the names /123/ of the parents indicate their probable years of life. Av after these numbers signifies widower or widow from a previous marriage.

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9: Eastern Bororo: houses of Indians of Meruri

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10: Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Diretor /Director Priest/ in Meruri.

5: Baldus--47 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8 Eastern Bororo

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11. Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Director in Meruri

12. Eastern Bororo: married couple returning from hunting (Meruri)

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302
482

6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

dren. One special house, larger than the others, is built in the center of the plaza. There the unmarried men sleep, and married men work and perform many of their ceremonies, taking advantage of the seclusion it provides from the women and children. All persons in the Bororo village are divided into two groups, or moieties, membership in which is hereditary. The moieties co-operate in work and compete with each other in recreation.

The Bororo were once among the fiercest tribes of Brazil, and warred against whites and other Indians alike. Today the few villages that remain

[p. 39=F]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

are pacified and are being affected to an increasing extent by contact with Western civilization. But in much of their ceremonialism these people still retain their native customs.

When a death occurs among the Bororo, all the members of the society put aside the activities of their normal routine for several weeks and together perform some thirty separate rituals that constitute their elaborate and protracted funerary ceremony.

A few years ago, the author, with the co-operation of the Brazilian Indian Service, had an opportunity to visit the Bororo village of Bayamoga

[p. 39-G]
[text continues on p. 40-G]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

302 have their shoulders gummed and plaited with white feathers,
593 somewhat resembling a shirt-vest. Other young men wear feather armlets. One woman was covered with white feathers from head to foot, with a brilliant plume in her hair. All young men and
304 boys wear suspended from a hole in the lip, bored during infancy, a kind of chain called nogodau, about six inches long, made of flat oval-shaped bits of shell, terminating in a red feather. The older men have a plug in this hole, for if left open it causes difficulty in
291 drinking. The young males wear around their loins a girdle over
881 an inch wide woven from long tongue-like palm leaves. All males who have reached the age of puberty are obliged to wear a shield called bā. A large crescent is worn on the breast, suspended from the neck. A charm, worn on the breast and greatly prized, is made of rows of monkey teeth bound to bamboo rods sometimes eight or more inches long. They are loath to part with this, having received it as a present, and for other reasons. The huge horn claws of the tatou canastro (*Priodontes gigas*) are also worn on the breast and are much esteemed. Coils of square plaited cord hang around the neck, and 10 or 15 yards of hair cord, made of the hair torn out of or cut from the heads of mourners during funeral ceremonies, are worn by men wound around the head. Beyond the ornaments above described the males dress or bedeck themselves only on special occasions.

292 Females above six to nine years of age also wear a sort of corset,
562 made of the inner bark of a tree, especially tanned and prepared, and which encircles the body twice or nearly so. It is much like a bottomless cheese-box or bushel measure, and evidently at first causes much discomfort. Another strip of bark about six inches wide and four feet long, so prepared that it is almost like cloth, passes between the legs from front to back. With this gear, a female is considered properly dressed. When she becomes old, she often discards the corset and uses the soft bark instead.

[177] When a handkerchief or a small piece of cloth was obtained from us, the men tied it around the head or waist, with the points in front and the fly falling behind. The females and boys would hang it shawl-like over the shoulders or around the waist.

361 There were thirty huts in the village that encircled in a very
346 irregular way, facing in every direction, a very large hut that stood in the center and was called baehytu. Bae (by) is the name of the ordinary family hut. This baehytu is the bachelors' hall, the headquarters of all the unmarried men, the workshop where the men make weapons and ornaments and instruments, the dining-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SPS Bororo SPS

301 from us, around their heads; while the boys tied them around their loins, allowing the flap to drop behind.

302 It is chiefly the young men that besmear themselves from head to foot with the yellowish-red grease, or paint, until they glisten in the sunshine, and also mass a red, putty-like material into their hair. Both sexes allow their coarse, black, horse-tail like hair to grow long and drop down in an ugly, tangled mass over their shoulders, except in front, where it is cut off, like "bangs." The young men also paint a black crescent over the forehead from cheek to cheek, or a complete circle, passing over the upper lip; and glue bright feather epaulets on their shoulders. The men pull out every hair [304] of their sparse beards and also of their eyebrows, which gives them a peculiar look; and occasionally pierce the nose and ears as well as the lower lip.

142 The Bororó are large, stoutly-built, powerful men. I do not remember having seen one less than five feet eight inches tall.

554 Social grades exist among these children of the forest just as among higher races, though much less complex and not so distinctly marked. They have, in a small, crude way, an "upper ten" and a "lower ten" thousand; "high caste" people and "outcasts"; "dudes," "belles," and "back numbers;" "big men," "first families," and "the masses."

301 We could not but be highly amused at times because of the astonishing habiliments in which these big, overgrown chil- 177 dren occasionally appeared. Any garment secured from us was always regarded purely as an ornament, and not in any sense as a necessary article of covering, unless to protect themselves at times from the cold, or from insects. Neither did they have any knowledge of the civilized world's mandates as to the manner in which these articles should be worn. One day, my companion gave a pair of white drawers and a white vest to a dignified old captain who already possessed a black shirt and hat. Shortly thereafter, he appeared wearing all these articles as a morning dress, and these *only*. In the afternoon, he visited us again, wearing the vest and hat, *only*, as

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

an evening dress. Some days afterward, another sedate captain appeared at our hut gravely wearing my companion's riding boots, a cutaway coat and a hat, *only*. Again, a big, burly savage would be seen arrayed only in a garment which was once a white shirt, and a hat; or, finally, wearing nothing but a hat. The hat, too, is only an ornament, as custom among these primitive people does not require its use.

To give them in exchange for articles of their manufacture, and for food, I had brought a number of knives of various sizes, a quantity of bright-colored cloth, beads, and fishhooks of different sizes, but no axes, because of their weight. The Bororó, like all primitive peoples, are fond of bright colors, of which scarlet is much the most admired. They dislike black, for it is the emblem of mourning to them. Whenever they brought anything to me for exchange, they placed it upon the table, then withdrew to the background as if they purposed to give it to me, gratis. But knowing their ways, we would ask them what they wished in exchange, and they would point to the article desired. As their standard of values was far different from mine, I sometimes found that they asked much less for their products than they should receive, in which case I usually added an article or two. At other times, they demanded articles in exchange that would have made the object they brought me very costly. But we usually sent them away satisfied.

One day, five splendid warriors came to visit us from a distant village called the Kogi au Páro, bringing with them beautifully ornamented bows and arrows, having heard that we were giving knives and other useful articles in exchange for their products. They filed, cat-like, into our hut with solemn and dignified mien, and "laid down their arms" upon our table, then modestly withdrew to the rear of the primitive company that surrounded us. My companion, Senhor Antonio, then said to the first man, "*Caiba?*"—what do you wish? "Axe," he replied, making us understand by a mixture of native and Portuguese words and by signs, as did they all; in fact, they communicated with us more by means of

/441 cont./

175 1845 and 1846, left us a small vocabulary; the engineer
[113] Rodolfo Waehneldt gives a very clear description from the year 1863 in the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico, Volume 27; finally, the collector Richard Rohde, who in 1883-84 traveled in the southern Mato Grosso under the sponsorship of the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, set down a few statements in No. I of the Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division of the Imperial Museums of Berlin/ (1885).

175 These Bororó of the Campanha and of the Cabaçal are re-
648 garded as the remnants of a once powerful tribe which occupied the region between the Rio Paraguay and Rio Cuyabá, lived in bitter enmity with the colonists, disrupted communications especially between Cuyabá and Villa Maria and Mato Grosso, and was broken up into numerous subdivisions long since destroyed.
[797] In the twenties of our century the Bororó of the Campanha were the first /442/ to be persuaded to make peace, and in part to be baptized, by João Pereira Leite, a great fazendeiro near Villa Maria, who fought with them for six years, killed 450,
[2433] and captured 50.* Not until 1842 were the Bororó of the Cabaçal,

[553] * He himself became the godfather of the chief, who, as usual, regarded the baptism as a name exchange and told everyone proudly: "My name is João Pereira Leite."

the ones usually described, induced to settle down along the Jaurú by "mild persuasion and gifts" on the part of the vicar in Mato Grosso, José da Sª. Fraga; they proved to be very stubborn about farming, however, planted only a little maize, batatas, and bananas, and preferred to nourish themselves chiefly from hunting with bow and arrow. Today the Bororó on
178 the right bank of the Paraguay are a miserable, degenerate lot.
[179] They were quite unable to bear civilization with its lures and whiskey.

/446 cont./

648 women climbed over the garden walls and climbed trees, as was their habit, to fetch down fruit for themselves.

The province sighed with relief; with customary exaggeration, the Bororó were estimated at 10,000 souls and the entire 10,000 were already visualized as planting mandioca and working in the sugar mills. The government immediately made 70 contos (at 1000 milreis) available for the catechesis and the citizenry voluntarily added three contos, which altogether amounted to about 140,000 marks at that time. The expenses increased within a short time to 118 contos. The Indians were [361] settled in two colonies: the one where the Prata flows into the S. Lourenço was called Thereza Christina after the Empress; the other where the Piquiry flows into the S. Lourenço was called Izabel after the Crown Princess and wife of Count d'Eu. The President also founded a "Collegio de Nossa Senhora da Conceição" for the education of Indian children -- a school that was never attended by pupils.

648 Solemnly the entire company was baptized by the bishop.
799 The then President, Don Alvaro Marcondes, and his wife were godfather and godmother for all; Chief Moguyokuri, whose personal acquaintance we shall make -- truly a magnificent figure of an Indian, 1.9 meters tall and, despite some inborn brutality, an exceedingly good-natured gentleman -- was given the name Alvaro. His Christianity, to be sure, was limited to his remembering this name for a few days.

648 "Muguiocury," reported the Jornal do Commercio in a
[177] Cuyaban letter, "seems to be completely identified with the cause of civilizing his tribe, assiduously visits the palace to call on the President and bring him presents; he manifests the greatest sympathy toward him and calls him 'Godfather,' kissing his hand as often as he sees him. Each time he meets the President he shows his satisfaction with much laughter and repeated embraces."

Difficile est, satiram non scribere /it is difficult not to write satire/. It is indeed very difficult. Good Moguyokuri undoubtedly had the best intentions, within the limits of his intelligence, as

2: Steinen--550 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SP8

/447 cont./

The soldier received 600 reis in supply money per day, which, in view of these prices, was very little for him and his housewife. He received five milreis in pay per month, as well as five milreis bonus.

"I am well aware," said one of the presidents, "Duarte has found a California." Yet even the president could not change anything; he scarcely gets a picture of the situation before he has to leave his post, and the more he wants to check the mismanagement, the more quickly the change comes, because he makes enemies of all who would lose by it. It is not worthwhile to discuss the chief question, whether the /448/ Brazilian soldier, including the good and honest one, would be equal to the by no means easy task of educating the Indians to become a useful element of society. The following pages may bring it out.

II. Pictures of the Catechesis.

To the S. Lourenço. (First acquaintance with neophytes in Cuyabá. Journey.) The inhabitants (Clemente) and the arrangement of the colony. European clothing. Agriculture. Our impressions. Quarrel and women's wrestling match (Maria). Meat distribution. Nocturnal howl of lamentation. Vesper prayer. Row with Arateba. Good Friday. Lament for the dead. Hallelujah Saturday (Judas). Kayapó. Threatened dissolution of the colony. School. The hostile brothers. Discipline. Duarte's arrival. "Voluntarios da patria." Breakfast and serenade.

114 To the S. Lourenço. We were able to examine the first Bororó in July 1887 in Cuyabá; Duarte had brought several to be baptized. We became acquainted with others at the beginning of March 1888. They were barefoot, but otherwise dressed in the prescribed civil fashion and wore on a string around their necks a green cardboard the size of a calling card, on which their new name could be read: "Atahualpa," "Montezuma," "José Domingo," etc. José Domingo was coughing violently; it was said he had caught cold at the baptism. Under their clothes they wore their

291
197

/448 cont./

291 native straw cuff; as soon as they were outside the walls of the city
●177 they took everything off, packed up the finery, and merely kept their green cards around their necks for a few more days as a memento of the conversion.

142 They were tall, sturdy chaps, striking on account of thick
199 forehead bulges, without eyebrows and lashes. They were delighted with the sights of Cuyabá, where they were spoiled like children, except that they were given alcohol instead of sweets.

[192] They were particularly delighted with Wilhelm's opera hat; they greeted the snapping sound with a bear-growl hu hú of laughter and slapped Wilhelm on the shoulder in appreciation.

[262] When they were in the house with us they always wanted to drink or to eat "mandioca" or "tapira," which meant beef and not tapir, or to sleep or comb their hair. They found friends everywhere, and when they stood with us at the house door every passing Negress would nod to them sociably: "Ah, the compadres! How are you, compadre? Está bom, compadre."

114 On 14 March 1888 we set out to visit Thereza Christina, but we were obliged to forgo visiting Izabel. Duarte was staying longer in Cuyabá and wanted to join us later. The Bakairí Antonio and the two comrades /Kameraden here means peons/, Carlos and Peter, accompanied us. The mules were once again in such good condition that we were able to use the best ones as riding animals.

122 Our first destination, the old military colony, lies 16°32', 6
[131] south latitude and 0°59', 9 east of Cuyabá on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, almost exactly /Pl. XXV appears here/

[133] /449/ southeast of Cuyabá. We were obliged to cross a few tributaries of the Rio Cuyabá, climb the chapada /plateau/, and, half-way there, on 18 March, reached the Fazenda S. José at an altitude of 555 meters above the plaza of the Cuyaban cathedral or matriz /mother church/. To the southwest of it, lower down, are the fazendas of Cupim and Palmeiras, which chiefly provide for the colonies. Beyond S. José the country is uninhabited; the small white farm, walled like a fortress, appears in deep solitude a depression between bare slopes covered

[Text Continues On P. 553]

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and,
as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the
514 forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the
most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in
Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the
339 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-
241 yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never
used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens
among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians.
There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about
in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by
vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete
freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought
out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

162 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the
621 wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó
and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present
at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a
hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20
along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would
be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have
been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time.
As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all
the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
[114] proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case
conceivable.

179 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the
291 Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and in-
dustrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack
of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about
mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief
Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap
themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

/452 cont./

177
291 evening; several women, especially those who happened to be carrying on intimate relations with the gentlemen, were distinguished by shirts, jackets, and skirts in large floral prints, but the ones who were more or less clothed were only exceptions for both sexes. The men wore the hip cord and the straw cuff, the women a hip cord and a bark strip with bast band. Both sexes loved neck and chest ornaments. I shall discuss the details later. I gave Moguyokuri a choice piece that he heartily approved of: a brick-red Turkish, wide-sleeved woman's jacket embroidered with colorful arabesques, which had once been used in the Paint-Box masquerade at the Düsseldorf concert hall. In this elegant fancy-dress costume the ever happily smiling giant was a sight for the gods.

[123]

[142]
[302]

Fig. 126. Bororó girl.

"What shall we do?" complained Captain Serejo in the military colony. "When the large crowd embarked for Cuyabá, 430 suits were provided. Many more were added in Cuyabá. And when the Indians returned, there was nothing left of all that." First, because the merchants had furnished miserable trash, thin, badly woven material that they could not otherwise sell, then because the clothes were too tight and too short, the shirts did not even come together over the broad chests and the unmentionables ripped, but, finally, because the Bororó treated the gifts of civilization with terrible negligence. As soon as they felt inconvenienced, they would toss off the clothing; as soon as they needed a bag, for example, to carry away meat or fish, they would use their blankets and shirts. They wrapped their grease-smeared bodies

/452 cont./

177 in hammocks, pieces of which they cut off, and in tablecloths --
291 a true Brazilian gift for naked Indians. They themselves do not use
[513] hammocks, but sleep on straw mats. They would not dream of
[296] washing their clothes; their shirts looked loam-colored, like their bodies, the earth, the huts.

123 The good Bororó had been spoiled to such an extent that we
177 with our modest barter goods came off badly. They were already such experts that they wanted only North American axes. Our beads met with the most approval, but here, too, the women seemed very particular and /453/ summarily designated the ones that they did not like with the Portuguese expression which the catechesis had made current and which distressed us very much, "porcaria," "piggishness," or "merda," "filth," not to mention the accompanying "diavo" curses.

Clothing the Indians was therefore not to be accomplished.

177 Agriculture. The Bororó were supposed to clear and plant!
241 In practice the officers thanked their lucky stars if they succeeded in saving from the Bororó the plantings laid out by the soldiers. As soon as the natives had axes, they found far greater pleasure in chopping down the pikí trees than in climbing up them and removing the fruit. In the military colony there was a fine canavial, a planting of sugar cane. A watch had to be posted in
[264] order to prevent devastation. Nevertheless, the Indians paid nightly visits and found a way to conceal them and to deceive their patrons; they did not break the plants, but lay down on the ground, bit into the cane as it stood, and contentedly sucked on it. The mandioca planting was completely looted; the women, accustomed to digging out roots in the forest, pulled up the plants that were not a meter long and went on grubbing busily to see whether more roots might be hidden in the ground. The hunter tribe had no understanding at all for systematic planting, but above all no patience to wait until the root had reached its full development.

177 The soldiers could not very well solve the problem of making
648 gardeners out of these clumsy fellows. The task would have been a difficult test of patience even for other men who would have devoted themselves to it, not merely by command or to

/453 cont./

177 realize selfish wishes, but on their own initiative for the sake of
648 the humane purpose, and apart from any greed. The Indians saw only too well that to live and let live was the only watchword of their paragons, that everything one needed was conveniently furnished from the outside; they were sincerely glad to break with their warlike past as soon as it no longer served any purpose; they were just as afraid of the Brazilians as the latter were of them, and for them the colony meant merely a comfortable and happy existence with few duties, which consisted of their occasionally lending a hand and furnishing the Brazilian chiefs with female housemates. A blind man could have seen that they were the true masters of the colony, and not Lieutenant "Dyuáte," whose power was limited to his being in the position (actually in the forced position) of spoiling them.

128 Our impressions. Before I systematically assemble our observations, I should like to attempt to describe, on the basis of my journal, the most remarkable scenes from the life and activities of our Indians and their teachers that we experienced.

123 24 March. We are dining in our mess room with the door open. During the meal there is a constant coming and going; sometimes the little room is crowded with visitors, though we are
[192] sitting very close together as it is. The /454/ language used is a wonderful Bororó-Portuguese. Bororó predominates in the ordinary pleasantries, that is to say, the substantives required for the case, only a rather small number of which is known by the Brazilians, are combined with two dozen pronominal, adjectival, adverbial, and even a few verbal expressions in stereotyped uniformity, and the natives themselves, especially the women, willingly
[273] adapt themselves to this pidgin-Bororó in their speech. The principal person is Chief Arateba in a state of chronic drunkenness; a plate of leftovers is given to this one or that one. The eternal feminine is pushing herself very much into the foreground; the female friends of the gentlemen are also given their plates, and the louder and more uninhibited they behave, the merrier is the general atmosphere.

/457 cont./

ooo After the roll call the men took off their caps and hats and sang, or rather bawled, with one clear voice predominating:
O, virgem da concepção, Maria immaculada, vós sois a advogada dos peccadores, criais todos cheia de graça com a vossa feliz grandeza, vos soís dos céos princeza, do Espíritu Santo esposa.
Maria mãi de graça, mãi de misericordia, rogai Jesus por nos, recebai (!) nos na hora de morte! Senhor Deus pequei (?), Senhor, misericordia. Por vossa mãi, Maria Santissima, misericordia!*

* Satirical verse: "O, virgem da concepção, Maria immaculada, pagai o nosso soldo, deixai da caçoada! (pay us our wages and never mind the rotten jokes).

●177 As in the "pronto" calls, Indians who happened to be passing by lustily joined in the singing; inside the house Caldas was practicing on the violin. At the end all of them, including the guard and the cadet with the sugar cane, knelt down. The Bororó did not pay any particular attention to the procedure, which had [533] long since been familiar to them. But about an hour later a dozen boys appeared before our door and sang -- the music was correct, the words, except for the beginning, unintelligible and not understood -- "O, Santa Maria, mãi de graxa," ** as they put their arms

** "Mother of fat" (pronounced grascha).

around one another, giggling, and lined up in a row leaning crookedly against one another.

648 Toward nine o'clock Moguyokrui had appeared before the
213 cadets and demanded alcohol. For a change the chief "identifying himself completely with the civilization of his tribe" wore a woman's red petticoat and a white linen jacket; he insisted that the key to the supply room be fetched and he actually got his bottle; he achieved his purpose no less when, on occasion, he would rouse the gentlemen in the middle of the night.

Row with Arateba. He is once again totally drunk and demands more; this time, however, the famous key is refused. He alarms the whole colony with his yelling and scolding; he hastens to

/465 cont./

Their hatred toward the administrator increased to a small uprising when one of their comrades was locked up because of his calumny to the effect that he had made propositions to his housemate and promised her a new dress from his supply room. They wanted to make an assault upon the jail and shoot Ildefonso, "this family man." They were calmed after it was pointed out that Duarte was arriving soon and would settle the dispute. Ildefonso, however, was very excited. He had only said good day to the girl. In former times, he would not deny it, he had permitted himself such things, but now "a woman was only an ideal" for him, he said.

Duarte's arrival. On 11 April toward noon, loud cries and great excitement: "dyuãte, dyuãte!" They emerged from the woods -- no operetta could offer anything handsomer. Fourteen Bororó, one behind the other, barefoot, in snow-white sailor suits trimmed with red braid, in wide-brimmed, bright straw hats, from under which the long black hair flowed out in waves, with thick red tufted tassels and fluttering red bows, on which was written "Colonia Thereza Christina." Swords with decorated belts and hilts, large round whiskey bottles, here and there an open sunshade. And behind them Duarte on horseback and three chiefs mounted on mules, in marine-blue uniforms, with red galloons as wide as a hand, which contrasted sharply with the bare feet, guns in their hands, and on their sleeves gleaming brass shields with the inscription "Voluntarios da patria." Long live Donna Carmina, Madame President! For this is the catechesis of the Excellentissima Senhora! The sturdy fellows looked splendid enough as they came striding along in the sunshine and marched straight up to the main building: fixedly they stared straight ahead with terribly grave mien, really "fixedly," for they did not even cast a sidelong glance at the loudly howling women and children, who seemed mad with joy.

Even in the dining room they maintained their solemn composure. Like strangers they sat on the benches around the table and along the wall, a sharp contrast to their /466/ boisterous naked fellow-tribesmen. Four women in particular were lamenting

/466 cont./ Four women in particular were lamenting
177 pitifully, their faces bathed in tears, and reported on the events
152 since the parting; the most excited one cut the skin on her breast,
785 arms, and legs and, in wild distress, with her wet, loam-yellow body streaming with blood, writhed before her husband sitting stiffly on the bench in his theatrical costume.

The commander of the colony was followed, on 12 April, by two huge carts loaded with goods, each of which was drawn by a dozen oxen. For the soldiers a change took place when, in the evening orders, it was announced that the sale of alcoholic spirits was to be suspended from now on in view of the fact that many had been intoxicated when the Lieutenant arrived.

After such business was finished, Duarte was given a proper welcome by his subjects on the following day. First at breakfast with good port wine. To be sure, two cadets drank from one glass, but there was no shortage of the stuff. Duarte himself was very moderate out of consideration for his liver. The wine was followed by a collection of bottles of light export beer, the labels of which reminded us of home: the brewery was in Hannover. Six toasts were drunk to Duarte, as a Paraguayan soldier, as a family man, etc.; again and again he was offered a wealth of eulogies, to all of which he responded with a friendly "obrigado," "thank you very much."

This session, however, was merely a prelude to the "serenade" in the evening: Caldas violin, Duarte guitar, Ildefonso coxó fiddle. It turned into a fine, jolly evening, and it filled us with the greatest respect for Brazilian drinking ability; I would never have believed that there could be such hearty guzzling in the sertão. Two good-sized cases of beer were emptied to the last drop before the liquor came. But even more endless was the stream of talk. I dedicated my toast to the originator of the Bororó catechesis, President Galdino Pimentel, who is not to blame if wrong methods were subsequently adopted, and in this way I avoided the dilemma of lying or offending needlessly. Duarte thereupon also spoke and rather well. He was dissatisfied with the government; the "governo ingrato" was blamed for whatever prevented conditions from being perfect. It was also unfair that

/479 cont./

237 301 Claws, small ones from rodents and large ones from armadillos, were put together by twos and thus formed the shape of a half-moon; in the center, where they were joined and covered with resin, hung a bunch of strings, while a few shell ringlets were pressed into the resin.

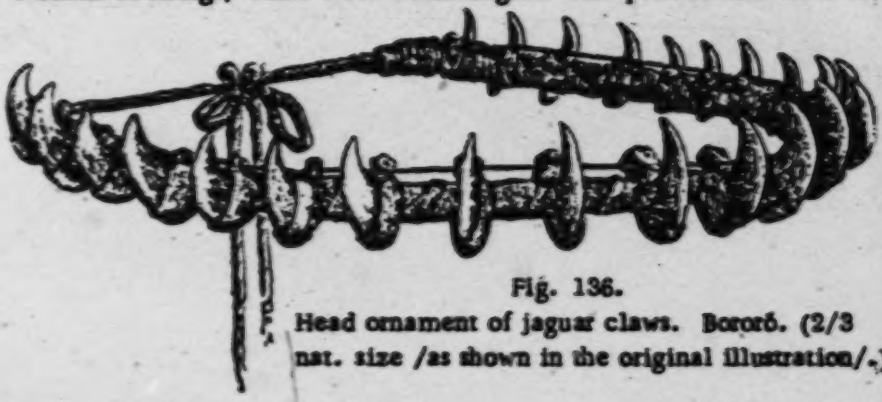

Fig. 136.
Head ornament of jaguar claws. Bororó. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[171] We found the claws of the giant armadillo on the Kulisehu in a very similar arrangement, not as an ornament, but as a tool /Fig. 135 ap-
[177] pears here; see Fig. 25, page 205. The Bororó imitated the claw ornament by cutting pieces of the same shape and size out of the tin of Brazilian tin cans. The process was very interesting because nothing about the tin half-moons betrayed their origin from two claws, and they were even declared to be proof of the "moon worship" of the Bororó by a Cuyaban, as I discovered to my delight. See Fig. 135 /sic; probably Fig. 129, p. 589, is meant/, the ear ornament of the mother. This was the way the Indians were already working metal. Lip pegs were also cut out of tin.

[171] Jaguar claws were joined together into a head hoop, see Fig. 136, an ornament very similar to the Aueto chief's neck-chain of the same material in Fig. 5, page 90.

/480/ There were chains made of shell- and nut-beads, small pieces of bone, and pierced seed kernels, but they were far less important than on the Schingú. Beads made out of the armadillo carapace were most highly prized. I shall give more details about this in my description of the activity in the men's house. In that connection I shall also discuss the ornamental strings for both sexes, which we called "suspenders."

/486 cont./

461 worked so neatly and carefully that the masters of the catechesis should have been delighted. Even the idiot Dyapokuri was incessantly busy, though he would now and then regale the others with a little joke of a voluntary or involuntary nature.

On days when there was no hunting, there were about 40 men
252 happily at work in the baitó. Meanwhile the women would be cooking in the huts and now and then one of the men would disap-
264 pear to fetch food. As soon as he returned and became visible
[152] in the wall there were individual "hm hm" of appreciation, and scarcely had he drawn in his arm holding aloft the steaming dish, appearing last, when, with a general shrill ah! the whole com-
[262] pany would shout for joy. Large pot-bowls were filled with thick, sourish maize mush or maize gruel, and on top /487/ lay large river mussels to be scooped up with a spoon. Then Moguyokuri would stride about, place his strong hand on the thick skulls of a number of young or old, and the chosen ones would squat around the pot and resolutely dig /Figs. 139-140 appear here/ their shell spoons into the mush. Anyone comparing this patriarchal tableau with the scene of the Brazilian meat distribution (page 562) was bound to be filled with righteous indignation at that disgraceful business.

252 The idiot Dyapokuri roasted the beef that was snatched dur-
372 ing the "feeding of the animals." He fetched fire from one of
[177] the huts. Fire no longer had to be kindled by rubbing, because the administration furnished Swedish matches. The original method of the Bororó was the same as on the Kulisehu. Canella brava, Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus, was regarded as the best wood.

412 There was, of course, no longer anything to be seen of stone
[177] axes and cutting fish teeth; axes and knives were present in abundance. But all kinds of things from the old days were still
[237] to be observed. For instance, the Bororó, when they ate, cut off pieces of meat in front of their mouths with bamboo splinters; as a scraping chisel they used the capibara tooth, up to eight centimeters long, fastened to a small stick cf. Fig. 26 /see p. 205/ from the Schingú and, in the present connection, Fig. 139 /see p. 609/; they filed this tooth with the tooth of the paca